1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesa OX6

the master or directors of industries as a whole formed a class. A man's profession affected his position in the social scale indirectly, as it brought him wealth.

The word *mata-ei-nana* signifies simply people, rather than common people; it carries with it no sense of a lower class. There was truly in the Marquesas no conception of a low class. Individuals who voluntarily became dependents were called the *vai-noa* (common water) and others on account of lack of material wealth or of personality were called *'ino* or *kikino* (mean), *tupepaka* or *tupenoa* (insignificant), and *maunoa*. But there were terms descriptive of individuals, not of a class.

THE KA'IOI

In the social order the term *ka'ioi* was anciently used to designate all males and females from adolescence to the time of settling down with more or less permanent mates to raise families. In other words, it included all individuals described by the terms *mahai* and *poko'ehu*, youth and maid. *Ka'ioi* signified in no way an organization but rather a native convention that approached a social institution. Every native during the years of adolescence and early maturity literally ran wild. *Ka'ioi* were not mere libertines, however, but performed a very definite function in society.

The mark of a *ka'ioi*, male or female, was the excessive use of saffron *(ena)*. In discussing *ka'ioi*, a native said to me, *"A'o'e te ena, a'o'e te ka'ioi"* (without saffron, there is no such thing as *ka'ioi)*. The loin cloth *(hami)* of the men was dyed yellow or yellow-orange in a mixture of perfumed coconut oil and raw or baked *ena*. The loin cloth *(eu'eu)* and robe *(kahu)* of the girls were likewise dyed yellow with unbaked saffron. The bodies of both youths and maids were anointed with saffron and oil, making them brilliant, soft, and—to the native sense—sweet-scented. Further embellishments were flowers in the hair and behind the ears, crowns and necklaces *(hei)* made of fragrant flowers or herbs, and particularly of the heavy scented pandanus seed. The prime motive of the *ka'ioi* was play. They spent their time in beautifying themselves and in circulating about the valleys in groups seeking amusement. *Uta* and *komumu*, love songs, and erotic songs called *hioo*, were those which they sang particularly.

During this phase of their life youths and maids were totally free sexually. An old European resident of the Marquesas has told me that it seems to be an irresistible instinct with natives of both sexes to run wild for a few years after adolescence, in pursuit of amusement in general, but of the satisfaction of their abundant sexual appetite in particular. A girl was looked down upon in native society if she did not run wild in this way, to withdraw from the others being thought unnatural and hence

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

883 836 something to be ashamed of. Although youths and maids at this period usually lived at home, they had absolute freedom. A mother's pride was greatest and it was a matter of boasting if her daughter had the greatest number of suitors in her train. A party consisting of one girl with from ten to twenty youths would sometimes spend the night together in the bush. A favorite pastime was the making of nests in the bush and spending the night in pairs or in small groups. Du Petit-Thouars says (10, p. 361) that some of the young girls did not attain puberty before leaving the paternal roof. Being their own mistresses, they went their own way, abandoned themselves to every caprice, led the most licentious life that can be imagined, until at last each attached herself to one, who having obtained the place of preference in her heart, wished to become her husband.

This conventional, free period of adolescence makes easily comprehensible the custom which led girls to swim to the ships of early visitors and give themselves freely to their crews. A girl at this age was expected to seek the attention of men. With the arrival of ships loaded with those seeking just what the girl had to offer, there would inevitably result just what occurred: native girls giving themselves freely, and the white men enjoying the satisfaction of his desires, but bringing back to his world an account of the natives as totally depraved, sexual animals. Old residents have described to me the reception on Nuku Hiva of a whole whaleboat crew of visitors from Ua Pou by a single girl. It seems possible that the offering of hospitality in this way to outsiders may have been a convention similar to that in Samoa which brought about the institution of the village [574] hostess. Krusenstern in speaking of the advances made by Nuku Hiva girls to his European crew says (16, p. 133) that the people who stood around approved in the highest degree of the grimaces of the girls, who appeared to have been called upon to play this part.

883 [184] It seems probable that *ka'ioi* was a more definitely developed institution in the northern section than in the southern. The accounts of early visitors suggest its being more definitely organized there than evidence obtained from informants in the southern section would indicate. Certain it is, however, that there was nowhere any definite organization into a society comparable to that of the *arioi* in Tahiti. And, furthermore, it is certain that there was never any honor paid to them in the Marquesas.

Stewart (26) speaks of the *ka'ioi* of Nuku Hiva in this way:

> There are those among the men, a species of dandy I presume, who imitate the females in the use of the juice of the papa, and in avoiding all exposure to the sun; but do it at the sacrifice of the privileges of the tabu. They are indeed chiefly of the number already under its restrictions, as singers and dancers at the public exhibitions (p. 233). The singers by profession called kaioi are the poets

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

and composers as well as performers of the songs sung on these occasions (p. 237). Garcia (14, pp. 71-72) describes the part played by the *ka'ioi* in the festivals. In a description of a great *ko'ina* that he witnessed, he says:

> Among them, there were even a number of true buffoons (saltimbanques), young men and women, more embellished still than others, and especially oiled and saffroned with a kind of yellow pigment which made of them demons as red as fire. While they performed their farces, dancing, marching and gesticulating, and while the music played its airs to the accompaniment of the prayers of the priests, all the rest of the assembly (were) seated with the air of princes on their thrones.

It will be found that the *ka'ioi* had the very definite function of acting as choruses and dancers in connection with festivals, the performance of which was both religious and for amusement. Their importance in connection with the *ko'ina tupapa'u* is particularly interesting, being indicative of the association of the generation cult with the ancestral cult. This will be brought out more clearly and discussed fully in the descriptions of festivals and chants.

The male *ka'ioi* as a whole constituted a body which was called upon for other types of service in the preparations for many festivals, and particularly in connection with the operation of tattooing. It was the *ka'ioi* who were called upon to build the special house *(oho au)* in which the son of the chief or rich man was tattooed; it was they who procured the food and fed the occupants of the *oho au*, including themselves; and in return they received free tattooing when the hands of the artists employed were not occupied with the son of the man who built the *oho au* and paid them for their labor. The fact that the different grades of *arioi* in Tahiti were distinguished by different tattoo designs makes this connection of the *ka'ioi* with the tattooing operation in the Marquesas very interesting.

One very trustworthy informant on Hiva Oa considered the term *ka'ioi* to refer particularly to youths whose fathers could not afford to pay for their tattooing and who therefore were seeking it gratis by assisting at the operations of other more fortunate youths. This informant further explained that this would mean that all a man's sons except his first born or an adopted son, who stood as first born, would be *ka'ioi*, because a man built the tattooing house only for his first born. His other sons must seek their tattooing as *ka'ioi*.

The *ka'ioi* youths served in connection with other feasts and festivals in a capacity similar to that just described at the tattooing. From among them were recruited workers to erect special houses for rites, the singers in choruses, and so on. It was in this way—as workers, dancers and singers, who bore the brunt of the labor connected with festivals—that the *ka'ioi* had a very definite function in the social order. Since it was during the seasons of plenty after harvesting that the great festivals, such

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

as those for tattooing, those in honor of young chiefs and of the dead, were celebrated, it was during these seasons that the *ka'ioi* were most active and most in evidence.

In the story of Tana-oa that is told on Hiva Oa, there is a very interesting indication that at one time there may have been a young men's house in which the male *ka'ioi* lived; or perhaps this incident is a reminiscence of the existence of such an institution in some region of former occupation; or perhaps merely a description of a tattooing house. In the story the young unmarried men, *ka'ioi*, are described as living together in a great house, as cooking for themselves, as amusing themselves, decorating themselves with *ena*, playing flutes and so on. I could find no knowledge on the part of modern natives of the existence at any time of such an institution as a young men's house; but the existence of this institution in Indonesia makes this bit of evidence from the story of Tana-oa significant.

Hoki, troupes of singers and dancers that went on tours about neighboring valleys and islands, were undoubtedly made up for the most part of *ka'ioi*, but they seem to have constituted actually a separate institution and one that deserves to be discussed rather under songs and dances than in connection with social institutions. (See Music.)

COMMUNITY STRUCTURES

The movement of life within the tribe will be described in detail in subsequent sections devoted to communal activity in work, war, and festivals, family and domestic life, and to the part played by the individual and his relationship to others. The truest picture of community life of a tribe in the Marquesas is gained by regarding that life as merely an enlarged replica of the domestic life: the chief stood in the position of father of his tribe; his establishment represented merely an elaboration of the private establishment of every family; the festivals and rites, which were performed on the tribal public place before his house, were more elaborate, but for the same purposes, and performed in the same way as the more modest feasts that took place before the house of less prominent families; the comunal activity of the tribe, which was directed by the chief, was merely an elaboration of the domestic activity of the family, whether it was the building of a canoe, fishing, the erection of stone structures or less permanent buildings, or the preparation for feasts and for the celebration of amusements and rites.

Before leaving this discussion of the tribe a brief picture should be given of the community of structures and places, private and public. Dwellings were not concentrated in villages but scattered throughout the length of the valley, or, in a few bays, along the shore. There seems to have been little tendency toward the formation of village communities.

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
OX6 Marquesas OX6

TYPES OF MARQUESAN CHANTS

MEANING AND USE

For the sake of convenience, the chants of the Marquesans may be classified as follows: recreational, eulogistic, and religious. This differentiation is by no means clear-cut, for the classes overlap; thus the recreational songs were often eulogistic, and those classified as eulogistic were frequently sacred. The native would classify his chants as tapu or not tapu, depending upon the circumstances surrounding their composition and use. Those called tapu, or sacred, would be the chants composed with a definite serious purpose in view, such as recital at a feast or rite, and rehearsed and performed under restrictions of tapu; while the others would be old songs that had served their purpose and were repeated for amusement, or songs, such as the *nani*, that had no purpose other than recreation.

In their recreational singing, the joyous spirit of the natives found free expression; and yet many of these chants were by no means entirely play, for such songs as the *ru'u*, *nani*, and *tape'a* were prepared, rehearsed and performed with as much care and effort as were the more serious eulogistic and religious compositions. The choruses that sang the recreational songs and the eulogistic chants, such as the *putu* and *pipine*, that were composed in honor of a youth or maid, drew their membership from the class of adolescent boys and girls known as *ka'ioi*. Under this term were included all the youth of the tribe who, obeying their natural instincts and following the immemorial custom of their people, "ran wild" during the early years of their maturity, devoting themselves without restraint to all pleasure, and to self-adornment. The *ka'ioi* were recognizable by the excessive use of perfumed coconut oil on bodies and hair, by the dyeing of bodies and clothing with the yellow or golden stain derived from the wild ginger root, by such self-adornment as crowns and necklaces of flowers—particularly strings of the pungent, heavy-scented pandanus seeds—and by their never-ending frolics and escapades. But the play of the *ka'ioi* was not wholly unproductive. The youths did the work of erecting some of the special structures for feasts and rites, and both the male and female *ka'ioi* constituted the choruses that sang recreational songs and the eulogistic chants at festivals in honor of young persons. The Marquesans, true to the ideal of perfection which we may trace in their every activity in the old days, prepared and performed their recreational choral songs with all the thoroughness and concentration of effort that they gave to their most important religious choirs.

But there must have been a very different atmosphere about the songs

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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857 of the elders for their own amusement. These children were not *kaioi* or members of adolescent bands; they did not become *kaioi* until after puberty, at which time the whole gang passed into the *kaioi* stage together. When the group married, they tended to become members of the same households, as they had formed attachments for one another and had had considerable opportunity to become accustomed to each other.

836 Sexual play was a regular practice among the children from
864 the earliest period. The adult attitude toward it, if not one of active encouragement, was at least that of mild amusement. Intercourse was frequently witnessed by the children in the dwelling and also at the periods of license which followed the feasts. Regular intercourse began before puberty with patterns of group sexual play, two or three girls in the gang serving a number of boys in rapid succession with the other boys looking on. Occasionally there were individual affairs. Sexual techniques were learned through imitation of the adults. Masturbation in childhood was inducted by the parents; whether it was practiced afterward in the face of opportunity for intercourse, it is impossible to say. Homosexuality was present in the form of mutual masturbation, but I have no data as to its frequency. The gap between adults and children was such that it was impossible for an adult to win the child's confidence. Relations between them were amiable but entirely disassociated.

291 Clothing was assumed shortly before puberty. The eldest child was clothed for ceremonial purposes from time to time from infancy onward. I heard of one small boy, an eldest son, who left his family in a huff because they wanted him to wear a loin cloth to a ceremony. Later in life the clothing, so far as males were concerned, was mainly decorative. The decent costume for males was to have the foreskin drawn over the glans and fastened beyond it with a thread wrapped around and tied. Thus attired, a gentleman was properly clothed, but if the thread slipped, it was a case of indecent exposure.

883 Young people between the age of puberty and marriage formed a group known as the *kaioi*. Readers familiar with

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

Polynesian literature will recognize immediately the resemblance of this to the Tahitian *arioi;* the words are cognates. The Marquesan group, however, was not a formal secret society and was limited to individuals within this age bracket. These young people were the principal entertainers for the tribe, being called upon to sing and dance at all ceremonies and feasts, for which they received liberal rewards. From time to time the *kaioi* would go on tour, performing their dances in the villages of other friendly groups. These trips would be announced as visits to the eldest child of the local chief, but were really planned in order to show other groups what fine dancers the *kaioi* were. The dancers would be feasted and given gifts after the entertainment.

The costume of the *kaioi* was elaborate, particularly that of eldest children, who were resplendent in hair ornaments, ruffs, anklets, etc. Their bodies were dyed a bright red, their bark-cloth garments bright yellow. The young people, the girls in particular, spent hours on bleaching processes. The Marquesans had discovered a preparation which removed most of the skin color. The girls would paint themselves all over with this stuff, sit in the shade until it was completely dry, then wash it off in the stream. They emerged from this process with skins as light as those of South Europeans, but exposure to the sun brought the color back in a day or two and they would have to start bleaching all over again.

The *kaioi* dances usually concluded with sexual exhibitions reminiscent of the modern Parisian peep-show. In addition to this, the girls of the *kaioi* group were expected to entertain visiting males sexually, and they took great pride in the number of men they could satisfy in an evening. Except for taboos in the case of siblings and parents, there was complete sexual license among these young people.

Instruction for the child did not begin until late in the *kaioi* period. Of course the children picked up plenty of things informally, but there was no regular instruction in arts or crafts until the child was in his late teens. The eldest children

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The sequence of vaginal astringents is terminated at puberty, but a new type of medication is begun in some cases, to alter the color of the mucus membranes and the labiae. It [856] is believed to be shameful for the labiae or mucus lining of the vulva to be excessively ruddy in color, hence a preparation of chopped young coconut meat is applied over the vulva to [824] alter the color of the parts in question. A supposed secondary effect of this medication is to render the pubic hair (hu'u hu'u) more pliable and soft, as coarse pubic hair is considered to be somewhat unbecoming.

/33/ Girls at puberty continue to receive sexual instruc- 864 tions from their grandmothers or members of the grandmother's [602] generation, but much is also learned from more sexually ad- [603] vanced friends. At this age, Marquesan girls are often seen [883] together, talking secretively for long periods of time. The [521] talks almost invariably involve sexual matters. For this reason, government school teachers state that it is wiser to release [875] girls from school at this point, as their interests often attract [871] and produce "adverse" effects on younger girls in the lower grades of school.

At puberty, female homosexuality occurs. One context 864 in which some homosexual play takes place is during instruc- 838 tion of relatively sexually inexperienced girls by others who are more experienced. In such instruction, both girls remove their clothing and assume a position of copulation. The instructor supposedly demonstrates the positions of intercourse and the pelvic movements, acting first as the "girl" and then the "boy" of the cpuple.

Although very much at ease with each other in states of 291 undress, girls at puberty become very self-conscious about ap- 883 pearing in mixed company in any type of attire that might be termed daring. In intercourse they seldom remove all of their [833] clothing, usually merely pulling up their skirt, even if there is no probability of being surprised en flagrante. Swimming is [526] indulged in fully dressed, if there is any possibility of being observed, while bathing nude in secluded pools is quite com- [515] mon and semi-nudity around the house is the rule.

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for the evening. In addition to such special data, young males possess an incredible fund of precise knowledge concerning the interior lay-out of every house of interest in the valley and the idiosyncracies of husbands, parents, siblings and children of the females in question. Even the household animals have been thoroughly observed. In observing two of these expeditions, I received a demonstration of the value of this type of knowledge. In one house, the parents of the girl slept on the veranda [342] to scare away prowlers. They were known to copulate at approximately the same time each night. The male who wished to enter the house waited until the sounds of copulation died away, then approached the house. A dog belonging to the family barked. [231] It was necessary to stand still at that point for the dog to approach and examine the visitor, after which the dog would cease barking. A whisper through the side of the house then informed the girl of the presence of the suitor. Had she wished to receive him he would have mounted the veranda, passed the sleeping parents and entered /36/ the house. In the particular instance observed, however, the girl did not admit her lover. He forthwith unlocked the cookhouse door, removed a rickety chair, placed it beneath her window, climbed on it throwing a flower through the window onto her stomach; afterwards replacing the chair in the cookhouse.

Adolescent girls do not go out in groups at night, but remain in their homes except when errands are required or attendance at church is necessary. The males must come to them at night.

Older adolescent girls sometimes leave home and live 883 591
in groups, analogous to those of the boys, generally residing in a vacant house owned by the family of one of their number, or using the house of a permissive and often closely related young married pair as a base of operations. There is a decided social stigma attached to such behavior, however, [626] and such girls are known as vehine mako -- rutting women.

They seldom are able to find a permanent mate despite 893 589
the large numbers of transitory arrangements into which they enter. They often live on marginal subsistence rations, if

/36 cont./
their families have no desire or ability to contribute to their welfare when they are not reciprocating by economically gainful labor. A number of elderly women are to be found in the Marquesas today who have never been married or were only able to establish a permanent relationship extremely late in life. Invariably, these are women who were vehine mako in adolescence. 589 883

/37/ These girls often receive small gifts of food, clothing, jewelry or perfume from local native lovers. They are quite demanding on outsiders, however, and request money payments of considerable size as a prerequisite to copulation. In lieu of money, gifts such as cloth, liquor, cigarettes, etc., are accepted. 883 548

The characteristic preoccupation with personal hygiene and especially genital cleanliness is well developed in the Marquesan adolescents. Careful bathing and use of perfumes and deodorants such as oils and flowers are a prelude to any planned sex act for both boys and girls. 883 515 832

Boys rate girls as sexual partners on a number of bases, the most important of which are vaginal qualities: the small size of the vaginal canal, the absence of large amounts of lubricating mucus, the ability of the girl to exercise some control over her coccygeo-gluteal muscles, and the absence of odor. Very important also is the ability of the girl to execute pelvic movements during intercourse. Girls who can retain their vaginal tightness throughout a series of several copulations are highly preferred. Large breasts are considered to be an asset but are seldom singled out for comment, rather the general size and musculature of the whole body is noted. The preferred female physique is rather broad and somewhat chunky with heavy shoulders, hips, buttocks and legs. An appreciatory remark often heard from Marquesan males when discussing the figure of a girl is: tau tau! -- (fat!), with an accompanying flexing of the biceps of both arms to indicate the thick shoulders and arms of the girl in question. It is believed that girls of this type /38/ are endowed with more endurance and vitality in the sex act. [201]

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Girls prefer males who are quite virile in the Marquesan sense of the word, i.e., are capable of frequent quick copulations. A male who is gentle and considerate in the sex act and who is witty and flattering is very much preferred. 832

During daylight hours the boys are generally occupied in routine economic tasks as are the girls, whether alone or in groups. The contacts that occur between boys and girls in such situations are marked by a general shyness and coolness on the part of the girls. When a couple are interested in each other, it is concealed by a studied indifference which is, of course, as much of an indication to the observer as hand-holding and the usual U. S. A. teen-age bill-and-coo. Joking is characteristic of interaction between groups of potential mates. It is usually of a slightly off-color nature, loud, and directed at no individual in particular but at the group of the opposite sex as a whole. In such joking it is customary to make use of a teen-age "language" of seemingly innocuous terms which have been invested, by virtue of some recent happening, with special sexual significance or meaning. The "language" varies markedly from place to place because it is so dependent on in-group events. It fluctuates rapidly within a given locale because new happenings constantly produce new words. 883 ● 834 883 522 198 884

An example of the type of words involved is provided by a term used in the teen-age language of Hatiheu in 1957. The word -- puta'a ta'a -- /39/ objectively designated conch Murex ramosus, but was used by the adolescents to refer to the vulva. Another linguistic trait is the use of one of a variety of formerly common adult secret languages, involving "pig latin." The most common of these is known as Te'eo uhitua -- the language of Uhitu'a (a valley in the Hapa'a region of Nuku Hiva). According to legend, all Uhitua people talked in pig latin. [173]

This language is sometimes used in the joking and banter between teen-agers and may also be used in person-to-person meetings of two lovers. Some examples are given below:

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Marquesan		Uhi tua
pehea 'oe?	(where are you going)	peheiherea o'oe'oroe
makimaki	(want or desire)	ma'i ma'i maraki
to'e	(clitoris)	to'i to'etoroe
eue	(erect penis)	e'ui'urue
pipirio	(vulva)	pi'i pi'i pirio
tea tea	(semen)	teate'i terea

Also used in joking exchanges are secret nicknames which are not usually known by the person to whom they are applied. Thus, an individual may be discussed in very derogatory fashion in his very presence. Much mocking impersonation is also used, as the Marquesans are inclined to study minor idiosyncracies in order to be able to mimic their possessor. [551]

Female coyness at chance encounters with groups of boys often results in what amounts to athletic contests. A group of girls will approach a group /40/ of boys on a path and shout some type of insults. The boys will respond and try to stop the girls, who run and hide. The boys then run after them but do not catch up. The girls run again and again the boys give chase. Finally, the girls when overtaken act as though nothing had happened, and display a somewhat arrogant attitude toward the boys. 834 883 883

Soccer has been introduced by missionaries as a recreation with the added hoped-for benefit that it will prove fatiguing enough to cut down nocturnal activity. In each valley, formal adult teams are organized but children and adolescents play also, usually on Sundays after church. The same kind of rough joking insults and athletic competitiveness between potential sexual partners is to be noted in these games. Boys often become sexually aroused to the point of complete erection of the penis, which serves as a further source of jokes and banter. No real attempts are made to hide the erection and the boy will continue playing. I once witnessed a boy play soccer for nearly two hours with a constant erection, in front of the church in Hatiheu. 526 832 [177] [197]

Although the everyday public contacts between boys and girls are marked by the indifference and generally rough conduct 832 883

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described above, a great amount of effort is expended by boys on catching a girl alone, often merely for a few words to make an assignation for the evening. Girls are usually aware of the boys attempts to do this and take some pains to place themselves in a position where it will be possible for them /41/ to be met and exchange a word. Often these exchanges are not noticeable being only a whispered 'i te po! (to-night!) with a misdirecting glance. In large groups, a glance or a motion conveys the desired meaning, and no words are necessary. Written notes are also passed but are considered dangerous as handwriting is often too distinctive. Such notes are often thrown into girl's rooms at night or given through a go-between who is closely related and therefore not likely to be jealous. [212]

If it is possible a boy will attempt to intercept a girl in the brush and copulate with her, while he and she are supposedly at work. Much careful intelligence work is required to plan these meetings, and the girl's collusion is usually necessary for success. A boy will try to determine where a girl will be working and whether she will be accompanied. He will select a vantage point and wait, trying to signal her when she approaches. She can withdraw from her companions with the excuse of going to the latrine and meet the boy in the brush for a short time. Attempts are made frequently to catch girls while bathing, or just after when they are still partially undressed. Marquesan males of all ages are constantly alert for a possible bush encounter. No indication goes unnoticed and neglected -- the absence of a man from a house, the sound of a wooden washing paddle in a distant stream -- all are noted and attempts made to capitalize on them. 836 831

The typical sex act in adolescence and early adulthood begins with practically no foreplay. As the act usually takes place surreptitiously /42/ in the bush or in the girl's home and might possibly culminate in humiliating capture of the intruder, speed is of the essence. A few kisses and some massage of the breasts is usually all that precedes introduction of the penis. Open-mouth kissing with stimulation by the tongue, kai ma te-eo, is practiced. 833 [832]

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argyrostoma). Therefore, the glans characteristic of this type was probably quite large, circular in section, possessing a blunt terminus and possibly a slightly everted urethral meatus.

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Marquesan males are quite careful to conceal their genitals in the presence of strange Europeans. It would thus be easy for a short-term observer to be completely misled and attribute intense modesty to them. /52/ Such modesty would be completely erroneous, however. Complete nudity is quite common among male groups, especially in fishing parties or in bathing groups, where no attempts are made to conceal the genitals. In such groups, there is a continual undercurrent of sexual horseplay and joking involving the qualities of the genitalia of those present. Some of this verges on the homosexual as will be discussed below. Males will also construct female torsos in the wet sand at the waters edge, and copulate with them briefly, or pile and rub wet sand gently around the penis while seated at the waters edge or in the shallows. There is much concealed curiosity among Marquesans over the genital anatomy of Europeans, particularly regarding the foreskin and results of circumcision in general, as well as for the inevitable comparisons of size.

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In adolescence, homosexuality among males appears with sharply increased frequency. An explanation of the term "homosexual" in Marquesan terms is necessary before proceeding further. Although we will discuss under this general rubric all the behavior that our society would label as homosexual, the Marquesans divide their behavioral continuum differently. Acts of homosexuality are accepted as a substitute for heterosexual relations in time of scarcity of women and as especially characteristic of adolescent behavior. On the other hand, habitual homosexuality, in which female company is eschewed almost entirely and male lovers are taken, earns the appelation of mahu -- deviate. Such conduct in the male is usually associated with transvestitism to varying degrees, assumption of female economic roles and

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female kinesic habits. A transvestite is known as mahu'o hiva, 838
"homosexual of the ridge pole," referring to his abiding around the house in the performance of female chores.

Pederasty and mutual masturbation are common among normal male adolescents. Isolated male groups will often become so stimulated by their sexual talk and horseplay that these practices will be indulged. In pederasty, as in masturbation, the penis is moistened with saliva before introduction. The act of pederasty generally involves some discomfort for the subordinate of the pair, but it is generally a reciprocal practice; therefore, the discomfort is considered worth the sexual satisfaction obtained when the dominant role is assumed.

Masturbation contests are quite common in adolescence, as at earlier age levels. [839] [883]

Fellatio is apparently uncommon in "normal" male homosexual behavior, but is considered characteristic of the behavior of the mahu or homosexual deviate.

There are still a number of valleys on the major islands of the archipelago, in which the population is quite small and the females available as sexual partners are either few or completely absent. If adolescent boys are present in these valleys, they must either travel to other valleys at night to find girls, which may be difficult and dangerous; or, they must indulge in homosexual relations. Ho'dumi, one such valley that I visited on Nuku Hiva, had a population of 35 people. /54/ There were five or six adolescent boys and two unmarried girls who were sisters to two of the boys. The two girls were carefully supervised by their parents, and contacts were nearly impossible for the boys. The boys had formed a loose group for work and recreation which also served as the center for homosexual activities. During the period in which we conducted excavations in the valley, we had excellent opportunities to observe this group. They generally retired to the interior of the heavily overgrown valley for homosexual activities in the afternoon. Their activities were well-known to the workmen, who often chided them asking who had played the girl's role that day and if the person who did did not have a sore anus.

838 883 [361] [162] [162] [123] [522]

/59 cont./ 183

Throughout adolescence and youth, the Marquesans 831
participate to a greater or lesser extent in the behavior patterns and traits described above, depending on the features of their individual environments. There is a constant change in utilization of these practices, as features of the /60/ external environment change, resulting in a condition in which most individuals have run the entire gamut of sexual relations (with relative emphasis differing markedly), by the time that physiological maturity has been attained.

Normal heterosexual relationships during this period 836 883
consist of a series of courtships of various lengths, culminating in sexual intercourse. Both sexes develop and change these transient affections quite frequently. In some instances, deeper attachments develop, often with parental sanction for overt cohabitation. During and between courtships, regardless of degree of attachment, the male reserves the right to have sexual relations with anyone he wishes. Quite frequently a male uses several girls in rotation during the course of a few weeks, still retaining a stronger attachment to one. Homosexual practices are fleeting and impromtu, being entered into [838] to fit immediate needs and nothing more, as are the rare occurrences of bestiality.

As opposed to the normal girl, the promiscuous girl de- 182
pends heavily on her sexual propensities to help her in the 836
world, withdrawing from normal family life to lead an untrammeled existence, quite dependent, however, upon the bounty of her lovers and her friends. Promiscuous girls form a buffer between the community and foreign intruders, provide a source of education to the relatively uninitiated male, while serving as a means of gratification and entertainment for the male community at large.

/61/ The relatively rare deviants, as defined by the 182
Marquesans, also have an established role which they can 838
play in the community. 839

/61 cont./

Marriage

After a youth of experimentation, Marquesans usually narrow their interest to one member of the opposite sex, settling down to an informal marital relationship, which is accorded community acceptance and recognition, without any more formalized ceremony than a request to the parents of the girl by the prospective husband. This relationship is called no ho -- "staying or remaining (with someone)." Often another introduced term is used -- matiri'ia -- "married," to which is added 'i te ha'e pure -- "in church," to differentiate those unions with the approval of the clergy.

Although this rather informal relationship is still most common, two factors have produced a recent increase in church marriages. First, an increased knowledge of rudimentary French law on the part of the natives has resulted in the use of French legal procedures to force marriage on recalcitrant suitors. Parents assume an attitude of righteous indignation when a daughter is caught en flagrante or is misled by promises of marriage, and make complaints to government authorities to assuage their wounded honor. Secondly, the church itself has placed great emphasis on a program with the goal of sanctifying all existing unions and all those to come.

Therefore, if a couple's relationship should become obvious to the public, or if parents should feel that a daughter has been cheated in any /62/ way, the chances are quite high that religious and civil pressures, as well as social pressure, will be exerted to make the union a formal one.

As a result of church influence, a couple may be forced into formalizing a long-standing union, which otherwise would have functioned as well as any which did not obtain church blessing.

With or without formalization, separations are not infrequent, especially in the first years of a union. In the absence of legal marriage, one or the other partner merely departs. If there are children, they are divided among parents, in-laws, and friends, depending on the circumstances. The

/99 cont./ 175 698 864

heterosexual relations in childhood in the aboriginal period appears to require some qualification, in view of the context in which such sexual relations were observed and reported. There is more than a hint that the visits of European ships were of sufficient importance to cause certain norms to be temporarily abrogated. For this reason, it may be that the extreme youth of some participants in the historic period orgies may not be representative of the usual practice; however, the changes are high that if intercourse for girls did /100/ not begin before the age of ten, it began not too long after. The degree of sophistication in sexual technique displayed by the young girls seen by the European explorers may not have been so much a function of experience as of instruction received from their grandparents. [603]

There is no information about age of first intercourse for males in the aboriginal period, beside Linton's statement that all children began intercourse before puberty, which is evidently true for females. As noted above, however, there is today a strong emotional sanction against males having heterosexual relations before circumcision, which appears to derive from the culture's values of cleanliness and general hygiene. This sanction, I believe, existed in the past with as much or more potency than it exists today; therefore, it is highly improbable that much heterosexual activity began before circumcision for males. However, there is definite evidence to show that the age of circumcision in the aboriginal period was considerably younger than in current practice -- between 7 and 12 years of age. Therefore, it appears that most male children began intercourse somewhat earlier than at present, when circumcision occurs between 10 and 14. [183] 833 881 178 834

A great deal has been written about the existence of adolescent's groups which arose informally in early childhood, and subsequently became the ka'ioi youth groups. There appears to be a major difference of opinion among early ethnographers on the nature and function of the ka'ioi group. Handy (1923, pp. 39-42) and Linton (1938, pp. 168-9) both speak of the ka'ioi as a group consisting of members of both sexes who /101/ spent several years wandering away from 114 883 571

/101 cont./

parental supervision, performing mainly entertainment and recreational functions such as providing musicians and dancers for ceremonies, building tattooing houses, etc. On the other hand, von den Steinen (1928) regarded the ka'ioi as a strictly male group; consisting of a more or less informal cluster of youths around a chief's son. These passed through the tattooing ceremonies together, and while still incompletely tattooed operated as a group of junior warriors with the special duty of obtaining human offerings. As young males, they were also called upon to participate in ceremonies, singing and dancing, and naturally participated to the fullest in the culture, including the aspects of sexual life that were open to them. There is no mention made in von den Steinen's volume of a lack of parental supervision over the ka'ioi. Rather, one gains the impression that they had a considerable amount of responsibility and duties thrust upon them at this time. Nuku Hivan informants were insistent upon the ka'ioi groups as having consisted solely of males. The cognate girls' group was called upokoehu on Nuku Hiva. Both groups maintained houses which were used as dormitories, called ha'e ka'ioi and ha'e upokoehu, respectively. The platforms of a pair of these structures was pointed out to me in Hatiheu valley, Nuku Hiva, and the site of another dismantled ha'e ka'ioi house platform was seen in Taipivai. According to informants, such houses were still used in the early 1900's, with adolescents spending a good part of their free time and their evenings in the dormitories. During the daytime, a girl might be waylaid and carried to the boys' dormitory for serial intercourse, but the boys did not visit the girls' dormitory until nightfall. Not all girls /102/ visited the girls' dormitory; apparently, only a very few resided there permanently.

Handy (1923) reports that no dormitories of this type were maintained in the southern Marquesan islands, but notes that such were mentioned in legends and speculates that they might have existed in the northern archipelago as is borne out here. In view of the fact that the ethnographic data contains a considerable amount of information on general and special

/102 cont./ 182 74 883 571

skills, both profane and religious, which had to be learned at one time or another during youth, it is difficult to believe that a large segment of the young population could be allowed to spend a period of several years in non-productive, unsupervised pursuit of pleasure. I believe that Linton and Handy, in discussing the ka'ioi, were describing a culture contact phenomenon arising in the disintegration of the society; due partially to the complete lack of direction and goals in the society, as well as to the presence of Europeans who continanced and encouraged in youths the kind of loose behavior described for the ka'ioi groups. With the main function of the ka'ioi (as warriors) removed, and mission efforts being devoted to stamping out the practice of tattooing (one of the bonds which held the group together), it is little wonder that the ka'ioi presented a group of aimless pleasure-seekers to the ethnologists of the early 1900's. [114] [648] [797] [304]

There are no data on the patterns of public courtship followed in the aboriginal period, but it appears that the present coyness and restraint exhibited in the presence of others was probably also an aboriginal trait, as it occurs in other areas of Polynesia (as will be discussed below), and /103/ is therefore not an atypical phenomenon for Polynesia. 584 834 182 [171]

The adolescent pattern of sexual relationships presents some interesting evidence of the effects of culture change. In the aboriginal period, adolescent sexual relations occurred in much the same contexts as they do at present, with two major exceptions: public intercourse, sanctioned on some occasions in the past, is no longer practiced, and the formalized girls and boys dormitories no longer exist. Otherwise, trysts and chance meetings are the scene for much sexual activity as in former times. 883 178 [833] [342]

Perhaps the most interesting changes are those which produced the dichotomization of the adolescent and adult female population into "normal" and "promiscuous" groups. In conjunction with this division, there is a trend among younger males to regard some of the behavior traits characteristic of the promiscuous girls and adults of the population -- fellatio-cunnilinctus, the use of varying positions of sexual 571 831 178

/110 cont./

The aboriginal pattern of free heterosexual experimentation during adolescence has survived to the present with relatively little modification, except that the introduction of French law and the dissemination of popular knowledge concerning penalties for rape, etc., has added new dangers to those already existing for the couples caught en flagrante.

Marriage

The most common form of "marriage" in the past was of an informal nature, the couple merely deciding to settle down together as the result of mutual attraction, the birth of a child, etc. (Handy 1923, p. 101). Formal betrothal and marriage only occurred between individuals of consequence in the society and were surrounded with very costly festivals (ibid., pp. 102, 209-211). Informal unions are still the most common, probably because of the ease of the arrangement and the fact that it does not require a great expense such as would be necessary if the union were to be formalized by the state or church, thus requiring a feast of at least modest dimensions.

The presence of the French government as well as the Catholic mission and the pressure which these organizations have brought to bear has nearly extinguished polygamy in the Marquesas. Formerly, both polygyny and polyandry of sort were permitted, although monogamy was probably the most common marital state in the whole population. Secondary mates (pekio) were taken, often as a means of establishing peaceful relations /111/ between warring valleys; such relationships were also entered into as a means of building household strength for political moves. Secondary mates were also taken for reasons of less weight than those just noted. Often betrothal for a relationship of this type was made for children. Upon growing up, the privilege obtained by virtue of the childhood betrothal might not be claimed (Handy 1923, pp. 101-102). In this context of secondary mate relationships occurred the polyandry about which considerable has been written in Marquesan culture. Polyandry was most common in families of chiefs, wherein large numbers of males were needed to perform the duties which